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AUTHOR Yabroff, Bernard; Matland, Marc A.
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ABSTRACT
The result of a conference on the employment of subprofessionals in human services occupations, this booklet considers the dual role of the schools in both preparing and employing subprofessionals to fill skilled manpower shortages. Noting that New Careers programs fail when administrators and professionals do not accept the subprofessional in a permanent job with career opportunities, the booklet describes the steps necessary to institute a successful program, namely: (1) job design and career development, (2) career ladders in health and education, (3) recruitment, selection, and training, (4) released-time training, and (5) budgeting and planning. This report is based on a full conference report which is available as ED 029 169 (RIE October 1969). (BH)

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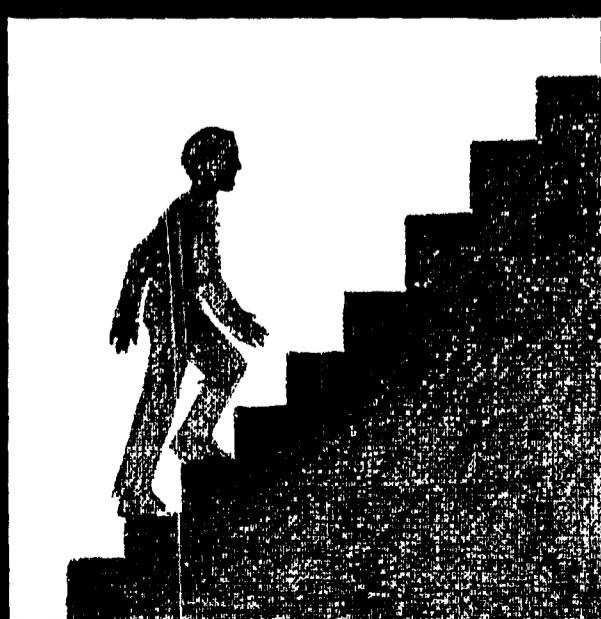
NEW CAREERS FOR THE SUBPROFESSIONAL



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A job is one rung on the ladder of a lifelong career of work. That is why we must look at manpower training with new eyes: as a continuing process to help people to get started in a job and to get ahead in a career.

President Richard M. Nixon
Message on Manpower Training to
the 91st Congress, August 12, 1969





New Careers for the Subprofessional

Prepared by
Bernard Yabroff and Marc A. Matland
National Center for Educational Research
and Development
in cooperation with the
National Committee on Employment
of Youth

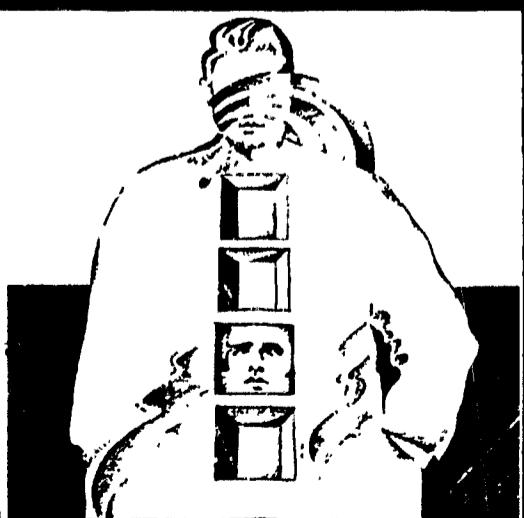
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FOREWORD

One of the most important problems facing the Nation today is the paradox of large numbers of unemployed and underemployed existing side-by-side with urgent shortages of manpower in critical and expanding human and public service fields—principally health, education, and welfare. The primary explanation for this paradox is the mismatch between the low-level skills of these workers and the skills required by available jobs.

One limited solution to the problem is the expansion of subprofessional job opportunities in which lower skilled workers merely assume the simpler tasks now performed by professionals but which do not require professional competence. Because such jobs lack status and opportunities for advancement, they do not meet the individual needs of the subprofessional (also called paraprofessional, auxiliary, aide, or some other title) who, like the professional, aspires to jobs which provide personal and career satisfaction. Meeting these needs of the individual as well as urgent human service manpower requirements can be achieved, however, through the development and use of subprofessionals in *new careers* models which provide hierarchies of meaningful jobs and

which include an education or training component that permits workers to move or advance from one job level to another.

Schools have a dual role in this process. Not only are they important employers of subprofessionals but, as part of their traditional role of preparing young people and adults for employment and social responsibility, they must assume a major share of the responsibility of providing training for subprofessionals in all fields. This latter role is particularly relevant in vocational education, which has already begun to reassess many of its traditional goals and methods in order to serve occupationally oriented youth more effectively.

This new focus for vocational education was emphasized in the Vocational Education Amendments of 1968 which provided that funds available for research and training grants and contracts may be used for a wide range of "projects in the development of new careers." Support for the use of subprofessionals in *new careers* programs is also specifically included in the Economic Opportunity Act, the Vocational Rehabilitation Act, and the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act. Moreover, Congress, in many other legislative acts, has provided for program support which may be used for the

employment and training of subprofessionals in *new careers* programs.

A conference held in June 1967 explored the expanding role of subprofessionals, the research and development needed to provide career ladder models and appropriate training programs, and ways to increase and improve the employment of subprofessionals in three human service fields—health, education, and welfare. The conference was conducted by the National Committee on Employment of Youth (New York, N.Y.), with the support of the Division of Comprehensive and Vocational Education Research of the U.S. Office of Education's Bureau of Research (now the National Center for Educational Research and Development).

This publication summarizes and sharpens the issues identified in the comprehensive and technical conference report—*The Subprofessional: From Concepts to Careers*. It is designed to provide an introduction to the basic issues in the development and utilization of subprofessionals, particularly in new careers programs; an overview of the problems that can impede the best use of subprofessionals; and a summary of recommendations that could, if adopted, result in improvements.

Professionals and laymen who need a nontechnical introduction to the subprofessional concept should find this brochure helpful. It should be particularly relevant for vocational educators whose role is vital to the success of *new careers* programs in all the human and public services.

Robert E. Pruitt
Acting Director
Division of Comprehensive and
Vocational Education Research

INTRODUCTION

A fourth-grader in a ghetto school sits quietly reading at the back of his classroom while his teacher tries to cope with the demands of 40 other children whose home and school experiences have left them years behind children of their own age in white suburban schools. The quiet fourth-grader, who not long ago could scarcely read his name, has been working with Miss Smith, a teacher aide. Now, thanks to Miss Smith's training and the long, patient hours she has spent with him, he is catching up with his class and, more important, discovering that books can bring pleasure instead of pain. In far too many instances, fourth-graders with low reading ability have been left to sit in similar classrooms for many unproductive, falling-behind years. With the help of teacher aides, such children can receive individual assistance in learning how to learn and in discovering how learning can make a difference in their lives.

Many aides, such as Miss Smith, previously undereducated and often recruited from the ghetto through antipoverty programs, have learned the techniques of teaching reading from remedial reading experts. These professionals can now devote most of their time to the demanding and difficult task of diagnosing reading problems.

For lack of a better word, Miss Smith is often referred to as a "subprofessional." Like other subprofessionals employed in hospitals and clinics, welfare departments, and schools, she does not have the traditional educational credentials that mark the full professional. But she does have an understanding born of experience and a desire for the kind of work that brings self-respect and dignity, now combined with some valuable training.

The use of such personnel has many advantages. The schoolchild needs help now—and gets it. Someone who needs a job with potential for self-fulfillment—gets it. And all who want the kind of improved quality of life that results from more and better human services—get it.

If many more subprofessionals are not employed, manpower shortages will continue to hinder efforts to increase and improve human and public services. And worse shortages will occur as public demand intensifies for decent health care, quality education for all, and welfare programs that end rather than perpetuate dependency. The difficulty in providing and improving such services is underlined by the sheer magnitude of anticipated manpower needs in major public service fields.

Between 1966 and 1975, manpower needs in health-related

occupations are expected to increase at least 36 percent, which means that we must have about 110,000 more physicians, 360,000 additional registered nurses, and 250,000 more practical nurses. In welfare, an estimated 10,000 to 12,000 vacancies already exist in currently budgeted social service positions. About 15,000 social workers are needed annually just to staff new child care and health programs and to replace workers leaving the field. In education, an estimated 1.6 million new elementary and secondary school teachers will be needed between 1967 and 1975 to replace teachers who leave the education system and to maintain trends in current teacher-pupil ratios.



Subprofessionals and New Careers

Although it is difficult to assess the relationship between professional manpower shortages and the quality of human services provided, many administrators feel that excessive workloads have impaired effectiveness throughout these service occupations. For example, the nursing profession considers patient care safe and efficient, or at least proportionately so, when 45 percent of the care is provided by professionals, 30 percent by practical nurses, and 25 percent by aides. But a survey found professional nurses providing an average of only 30 percent of patient care, and concluded that the recommended formula is clearly unattainable. In many city schools, pupil loads are well over rated capacity. In most urban centers, average class size is higher than most experts consider desirable. Similarly, caseloads in virtually all public welfare establishments are running high—often almost double the generally accepted maximum number of 60.

This situation is not likely to improve significantly. Available evidence clearly shows that even substantial expansion of the supply of professional personnel will not meet all professional manpower

requirements. However, more and better human services can be achieved by restructuring the tasks performed in a service system and by reorganizing the methods of service delivery. In many service occupations, a significant portion of professional talent is being wasted on work that could be performed by subprofessionals. For example, doctors spend 30 to 70 percent of their time at functions not requiring their full training; nurses devote one-fourth to two-fifths of their time performing nonnursing tasks; and medical personnel in clinics spend uncounted hours on social welfare rather than medical problems.

Subprofessionals, employed efficiently in a reorganized system for providing services, can improve the professional's performance and thus improve the quality of the services. In the health professions, for example, a revision of the existing roles of registered nurse, practical nurse, and nurse's aide, or the addition of new occupations, could free hard-pressed professionals from duties requiring lower levels of competence. In education, a revision of current staffing patterns to include new kinds of teaching personnel would substantially ease the problem of lowering student-teacher ratios by reducing the required number of additional conventionally credentialed teachers.

Almost any practical use of subprofessionals can help alleviate the effects of professional manpower shortages, increase the efficiency of professionals, and provide improved services. However, the contribution of subprofessionals can be increased by developing *new careers* programs in which tasks and skills are organized into one or more career sequences or hierarchies. Such programs are designed to improve the efficiency of all agency personnel, provide more, better, and new services, and permit more efficient use of agency resources. These programs go beyond mere preparation for subprofessional employment in entry-level, menial, make-work, or dead-end jobs. They require identification and construction of career ladders which have increasing levels of job responsibility, status, and pay, and educational programs which are directly linked to training. The educational and training components must be designed to qualify workers for meaningful, satisfying, decently paid jobs as well as opportunities for advancement commensurate with their ability, experience, and interest.

Such *new careers* programs are of special value to the poor because they provide opportunities for employment and career development to those with low levels of education and training; however, it would be a mistake to equate the idea of new

careers with the poor. The desire for better jobs, sometimes described as the search for self-respect through useful work, is characteristic of individuals from all economic and social backgrounds. These programs can not only improve the quality of human services and the career potential of the poor, but they can also provide a more flexible employment and educational climate in which even high school graduates, college undergraduates, or professional trainees can test their vocational interests, aptitudes, and abilities before making career commitments.

Subprofessionals in Health

In the health field, the subprofessional role can be expanded as it was in the Montefiore-Morrisania Hospital's Neighborhood Health Center program in the Bronx, New York. There, teams composed of a physician, a public health nurse, and a subprofessional family health worker brought medical care and social services to the community. This combination of the team approach with the use of subprofessionals offers great potential and flexibility.

Subprofessionals in Education

The use of subprofessionals in the schoolroom helps free the teacher to use professional skills to the fullest, providing children with more individualized attention and establishing a valuable reservoir of manpower. In the State of Washington, large numbers of aides are employed by the schools: about one-third in lunchrooms or playgrounds, and two-thirds in the classroom where they read to children, tutor, and help prepare instructional materials.

Subprofessionals in Social Welfare

In many welfare agencies, subprofessionals handle cases like old-age assistance not requiring specialized casework services or frequent changes in service. For instance, an older client may require only food preparation assistance or transportation on a continuing basis. In more difficult cases, subprofessionals handle that portion of the work, such as determination of eligibility, that does not really require professional social work training. Beyond such areas of established service, the welfare subprofessional could help in housing and living arrangements, homemaking, consumer education, and practical counseling on food and money management. He or she could work in job development and placement, employment preparation, family planning, legal referral and counseling and with client groups on community problems. Other potential subprofessional roles include social care for the aged, child care, day care, finding foster homes, and screening foster parents.

Why Programs Fail

It has been difficult to get administrators, professionals, and others to understand and accept the concepts of new careers. Moreover, it has been even more difficult to put the concepts into practice. For example, the large number of subprofessionals hired in the human services has been gratifying but, with few exceptions, these employees are women employed in entry-level jobs which are not part of comprehensive *new careers* development programs incorporating education and training.

There are generally no clear standards for selecting or upgrading subprofessionals other than conventional certifications which, in turn, are most often based on completing specified levels of formal education. Advancement opportunities, therefore, are generally limited to those who can afford full-time college or professional training. Moreover, to implement *new careers* programs, complex problems of institutional change will have to be overcome, such as changes in Civil Service regulations, budgetary procedures, and attitudes of agency personnel and clients.

Expediency

A principal reason for program failure is the frequent use of subprofessionals as expeditants to ease professional manpower shortages

without redefining the professional's role. The jobs thus created have been inherently temporary, the work has been considered undemanding and relatively unimportant, and opportunities for advancement generally have been limited.

Closely related to expediency is the concept that subprofessional work is intended exclusively to eliminate poverty and unemployment. Under this concept, income has been emphasized at the expense of job integrity. Consequently this well-intentioned but short-sighted practice provides only a few jobs for untrained, undereducated people, but neglects the task of designing jobs for service expansion and improvement. Much of the difficulty in translating subprofessional jobs into careers results from management and professional resistance to the idea that persons less well educated than themselves possess the potential for providing services efficiently. It is this potential that has to be sought out and developed.

Professional Resistance

Professionals traditionally assert their prerogative to decide how, and by whom, functions will be performed. Professionals often fear that their influence will be diluted or their status and wages threatened by subprofessionals. However, the contrary position has also been advanced—that broadening the subprofessional role will improve

salaries, staffing patterns, and working conditions for professionals. Neither argument can be sustained by much experience.

Although resistance by professionals to the use of new careerists has been decreasing, it can still be found in varying degrees depending on local circumstances. In education, the broad use of subprofessional talent in a *new careers* framework has lagged because many teachers have a limited view of the role and potential of the subprofessional. Although more subprofessionals are being used in schools, the roles for many of them remain basically unchanged from the days when schools enlisted volunteers or hired a few workers who were paid out of local PTA or nonbudgeted funds to help teachers put on children's overshoes or supervise field trips. However, the use of such personnel in instructional capacities, where the need is greatest, is still opposed by many teachers. Lack of agreement among teachers and other educators, and parents on what is good education further complicates the problem, deflecting interest from seriously exploring the potential contributions of subprofessionals.

The basic problem in welfare, as in education, stems from the concepts of professionalism held by professional personnel. Social work professionals, trained in casework,

are still finding it difficult to identify subprofessional roles in the casework model. The shift in emphasis in welfare from establishment of eligibility to the provision of services has reinforced the position of many social workers, including administrators, that casework services should be provided only by academically trained professionals. Moreover, to those who have argued that a college graduate could do a better job than just a plain motherly woman, advocacy of the use of subprofessionals is a regression.

This situation has to a large extent prevented the wholesale involvement of subprofessionals in what is becoming the main emphasis of public welfare—serving the total need of a welfare client rather than merely providing an assistance payment.

States have tended to limit their services to those that are generally provided by caseworkers having at least a college degree rather than to those services which could readily provide jobs for large numbers of subprofessionals, for example, in homemaking and child care. The long-term impact of the 1967 amendments to the Social Security Act, which require that State plans provide for the training and effective use of paid subprofessional staff, has yet to be assessed.

In the health field, an elaborate structure of licensing, once thought

of as a safeguard for the public, is a principal factor that now inhibits innovative uses of manpower, since licensure generally requires substantial formal education or training not possessed or available to full-time entry level workers. Furthermore, clear managerial appreciation of, or commitment to, job redesign is often lacking. These and similar factors may still limit subprofessional health roles, resulting in high turnover rates and repelling desirable candidates.

Other Problems

Civil Service and other centrally structured merit systems emphasize educational attainment so that administrators find it difficult to permit employment of subprofessionals in jobs above the entry level. Similarly, conventional qualifying examinations and tests for licensure usually are not relevant for selecting subprofessionals.

There are also other barriers to effective new careers programs. Budget limitations, not only of size but of form, are common. Some administrators feel that it is more difficult to increase allocations for personnel than for capital improvements. Furthermore, when allocations are for line budgets, each job category may be specified leaving the manager little flexibility for employment innovations.

Steps to Successful Programs

Although the problems may sound formidable, they are not insurmountable. From the observations of administrators of subprofessional programs have come many specific suggestions for developing strong and effective *new careers* programs.

Job Design and Career Development

A beginning job, they learned, must be considered as only a first step in career development if subprofessional occupations are to be more than dead-end jobs. The beginner's tasks may be simple, but they must be useful and substantial enough to give the job integrity and to allow it to serve as a testing and training position for possible advancement. Furthermore, the job must provide a decent wage because some workers will not advance beyond the entry level and others will not realize their potential for advancement because of immediate family or other pressures.

In structuring a career sequence, job and pay levels should be differentiated on the basis of specific performance standards rather than minimum education, years of experience, or other general requirements that may not reflect ability to do the job.

Without a long-range point of view in planning *new careers* programs, there is the very real risk of simply creating a whole new category of entry-level, menial jobs. Most of the several hundred thousand people already employed in subprofessional categories hold only low-level jobs with little hope for advancement. With few exceptions, the traditional role of the hospital nurse aide illustrates this common mistake. Many high potential aides are left stranded in menial jobs because advancement is restricted to the few who have the time, the money, and the perseverance to seek further training and education on their own time.

Career Ladders in Health

The San Francisco Home Health Service, a privately financed agency founded in 1957, has provided alternate advancement opportunities and varying entry points for its employees. The agency hired educated, unemployed women as "homemakers" to provide services to people too ill to leave their homes. Workers entered at the homemaker level, received on-the-job and released-time training, and received a pay raise when they obtained certification and advanced to home health aide. The next step up was clerk, then scheduler, and finally field service worker. An alternate path led to the position of licensed practical nurse and, beyond, to registered nurse. The agency sends promising and interested candidates to college on a full-time basis as they pursue these careers.

Career Ladders in Education

The Minneapolis schools employ some 700 subprofessionals with varying levels of education as teacher aides, school social work aides, and guidance aides, with opportunities for education and advancement to higher level permanent jobs financed, in part, with local funds. Aide I, Aide II, and assistant level jobs have already been identified.

Recruitment, Selection, and Training

Recruitment for entry-level jobs in *new careers* programs must reach and convince candidates of the value of the programs to them. The relatively passive, conventional recruiting methods of advertisement and job-posting are not enough to overcome suspicion and apathy of many poor people. But even the best recruitment techniques will fail if the programs promise promotions, training, or other benefits that are not really available.

Selection criteria for participants should be based on capabilities actually needed on the job and not on arbitrary or external credentials. Only then can the rigid reliance on schooling, job seniority, and tests of questionable applicability be overcome. An alternative to traditional selection procedures, for example, could be a group-screening panel made up of both professionals and subprofessionals.

Recruiting

In Change, Inc., a neighborhood community action center sponsored by United Planning Organization in the heart of one of Washington, D.C.'s slum sections, recruiters go out into the streets, talk to passersby about the need for subprofessional workers, and tell them where to apply. They also place newspaper advertisements, ask ministers to make announcements from pulpits, give talks in schools and to various gatherings, and in other ways actively attempt to reach as many people as possible with information about job openings. Here, as in other such campaigns, the effort has worked.

Released-Time Training

In a community mental health center sponsored by Howard University and the D.C. Department of Public Health in Washington, D.C., one subprofessional program concentrated on educating and training 28 inner-city high school students for employment as teacher aides and health aides. They spent half their time in school and half on the jobs, and their academic program was integrated with their work experience.

Training, education, and on-the-job supervision should allow for continuous development. These three elements must be appropriate to the work, accessible to the workers, and open to combinations of work and study. Although many of these entry-workers will require remedial education, training should begin with those basic skills needed on the job to allow the *new careers* trainee to become a productive employee quickly. Later, as the individual's role expands, training and education can expand accordingly. On-the-job supervision should help the trainee capitalize on the possibilities for advancement by strengthening his self-image and motivation. Without these elements, workers may do poor work and programs may experience high turnover.

**Released-Time Training:
A Vital Need**

It is not practicable for the poor to undertake the costly, full-time education and training commonly required for career advancement. For example, the Negro or Spanish-speaking working mother without a high school diploma needs occupational training but her family responsibilities and low income make it virtually impossible for her to get the education she needs.

Released-time training is generally used to upgrade professionals in human service fields. If an

administrator can give professionals time off with pay to further their education or training, he can do the same for subprofessionals. Released-time training for subprofessionals can help remove those barriers which keep them in low-level, dead-end jobs. Such opportunity for the subprofessional has not been provided extensively in the past and the means for accomplishing it are not yet firmly established. Moreover, to avoid creating frictions among workers, workable criteria need to be devised for determining which employees are to have the opportunities for released-time training.

Despite these difficulties, such training holds great promise for preparing workers for advancement in subprofessional jobs so vital to the improvement of human services.

Overcoming Resistance

Just as vital as recruitment, selection, and training is the matter of overcoming resistance. This may take the form of regulations that prevent innovation, the opposition of special interest groups, or the inertia characteristic of bureaucrats. Much of this resistance, however, arises from a failure to understand the extent and urgency of service and manpower needs and the potential of *new careers* for meeting them. Effective communications can go a long way toward overcoming such resistance.

Some steps have already been taken. Groups of subprofessionals organized at both the local and national level have urged administrators to adhere to the essential elements of *new careers* programs as a means of meeting needs for trained manpower. At a number of conferences and workshops, efforts have been made to encourage leaders of professional associations, unions, and regulatory groups to make their members aware of the potential contribution of *new careers* programs. New alliances of human service personnel can provide similar support.

Organizations already engaged in this effort include: American Public Health Association, National Association of Social Workers, National Education Association, American Medical Association, American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, and the American Federation of Teachers.

Several centers have been set up to foster the objectives of *new careers* and to provide information and technical assistance in the design and development of *new careers* programs: New Careers Development Center and Training Laboratory, New York University; University Research Corporation, Washington, D.C.; Social Development Corporation, San Francisco, Calif. and Washington, D.C.; and

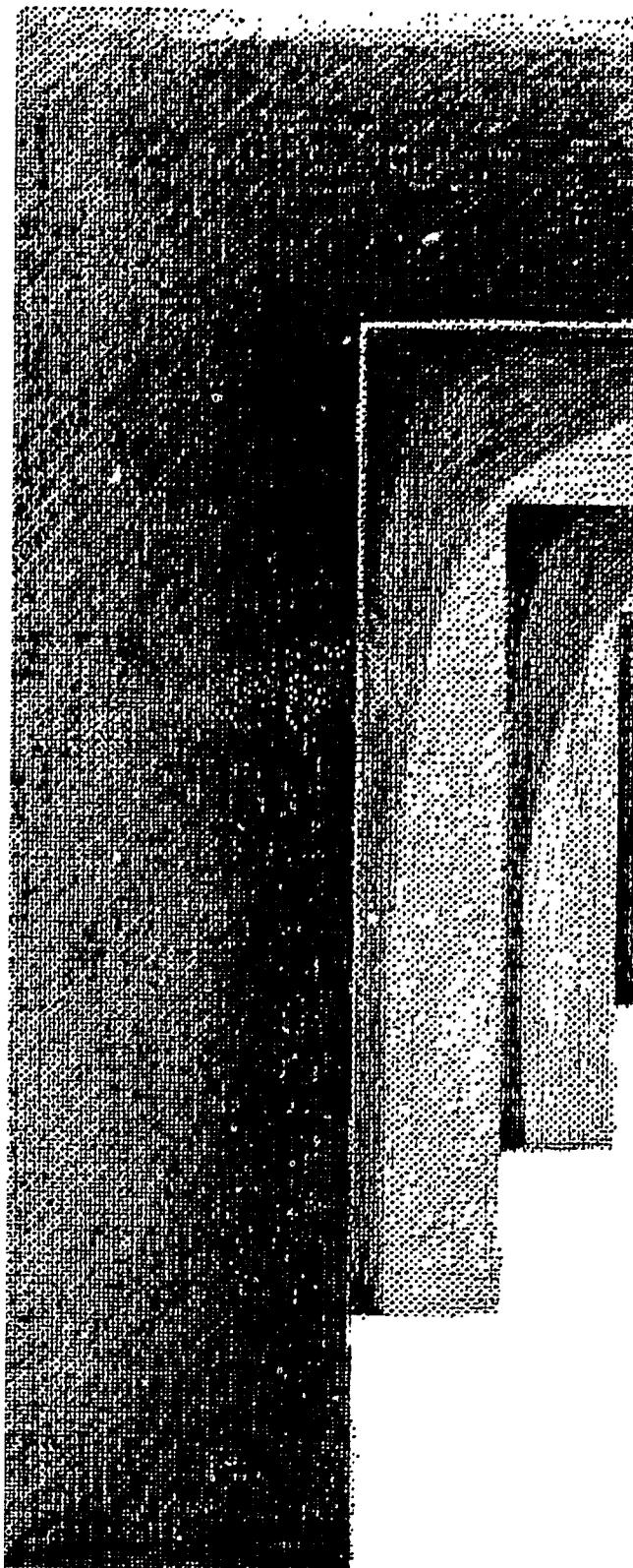
New Careers Development
Organization, Oakland, Calif.

Budgeting and Planning

To be successful, a *new careers* program must be an integral part of an agency's personnel planning and budgeting activities. Funds for upgrading must be budgeted when the candidate is at the entry level so that they will be available when needed. If the program is intended for use in a merit system, changes may be necessary in hiring procedures, examination techniques, job classifications, and wage scales. If subprofessionals are hired before such changes in the merit system take place, they should be informed about the uncertainties they face.

Any new program should include systematic data gathering and evaluation as a basis for subsequent improvements. Administrators should share their experiences with those in other fields to determine promising alternatives and to check against personal bias. Research and technical assistance should be made available to those responsible for planning and operating *new careers* programs.

Program planning and design must also take into account the distinct needs within each service, such as the health service's interest in attracting more men to patient care occupations, and education's reservations about using subprofessionals.



Education's Unique Role

Hundreds of thousands of subprofessionals are currently employed in the human and public services—some in new careers-type programs. Unlike other services, however, the role of education in developing such programs is not limited to mere employment of subprofessionals. Schools are also expected to supply trained subprofessionals for all the human service occupations where there are shortages of professional and other personnel. This is in line with vocational education's traditional role in providing training which prepares students for current and anticipated employment opportunities.

The training of workers in the human and public services means new and expanding responsibilities for vocational education. Preparing workers for the *new careers* job model can be a most effective testing ground for these new concepts, roles, and responsibilities. In response to changing manpower requirements in agriculture, science, and engineering, the schools have developed new programs that have benefited both their students and the national economy. What is needed now is a comparable effort in the human and public service fields. Ideally, students need an introduction to occupational opportunities



in these service fields beginning in elementary school with actual skill training available later to both vocational and academic students.

Schools also play a major role in influencing the occupational choices of their students. If students develop an awareness of society's human service needs and opportunities while in school, the supply of service-oriented youth leaving the schools could meet the increasing demand for subprofessional personnel in all the human services, including education. And, if academic as well as vocational students were exposed to this choice, the schools could also improve the supply of candidates for professional training which a student could seek either immediately after graduation or after a trial period of experience as a subprofessional. Manpower programs, like the Neighborhood Youth Corps, the Job Corps, Manpower Development and Training, and others, can assist the schools in this role with special training programs for out-of-school youth and adults.

The Challenge and the Promise

Administrators are the key to solving the problems detailed in this document. Government bodies, professional associations, unions, and community groups may provide an environment favorable to change, but it is management's responsibility, as employer and as public servant, first to determine the service needs which must be met and then to implement the manpower changes required to satisfy those needs. The construction of an intricate complex of career advancement opportunities is a major undertaking that taxes the already overburdened schedules of those in a position to plan and bring about significant change. Each administrator should consider carefully whether it is worth the effort. Many leading officials in the human services have concluded that the creation of *new careers* roles is not only worthwhile, but inevitable.

This conclusion seems warranted. Today, all human services are troubled by a lack of effectiveness that is the result, in great measure, of shortcomings in organizational structures and in numbers and quality of personnel. These problems are not likely to be overcome merely by an expansion of current practices. New methods must be found if the required levels of quality and quantity of service

are to be reached. The *new careers* approach is one of those methods, if not the major one.

The new careerist, as part of the "establishment," can also help reorient human service agencies away from their traditional, narrow service objectives such as providing job training, welfare payments, or health services. Such traditional efforts, which are commendable but focus merely on the symptoms of our troubled society, must be integrated into a coordinated and comprehensive attack on discrimination, lack of economic and educational opportunities, and other conditions which are the root causes of our major social ills.

Once an administrator has decided to use subprofessionals, he must discard the established pattern of viewing his agency's service delivery system as merely the sum of its parts. He may find areas where no service is being delivered at all, and it is here that some of the most promising roles for subprofessionals will emerge. The best use of the subprofessional is based on a clear evaluation of his role from the point of view of the patient, client, or student needing service. The major concern should not be to provide employment for subprofessionals, but to train them to perform important functions, thereby achieving better manpower utilization and improving total

service. The design, creation, and smooth operation of meaningful subprofessional programs in a *new careers* structure is an undertaking still in its infancy. It is, however, one of the most urgent tasks of our time and vocational educators can play a major role in this effort.



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